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# Contemporary Islamic Political Dynamics Arabic Republic of Egypt

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Abstract. This article aims to describe the dynamics and contestation of Egyptian Islamic politics. The Islamic political movement carried out by a group of people in Egypt has changed the streets of existing democracy with the emergence of coups and assassinations that occurred in the Anwar Sadat era. It was a form of turmoil that occurred. This condition continued until the emergence of the Arab Spring in 2011. From all the dimensions that exist in Egypt, the root of all the turmoil is the unresolved religious and political problems that have made Egypt transform into a stagnant country until now. This study also shows that there is a transformation of Egyptian radicalism that has penetrated in all lines which hinders the progress of Egyptian democracy in which the mosques and campuses are used as the basis of radicalism so that they can influence the public's interest. This research is also supported by literature sources from books, journals, and comprehensive research. As for the results obtained from this article, namely the emergence of identity politics that occurred in Egypt due to the emergence of radical Islam, which had a major influence on Egyptian society, then the emergence of an authoritarian military system gave dissatisfaction to the Egyptian people in living as a state, resulting in destabilization between the democratic system and society globally.

**Keywords:** Political Islam; Radicalism; Egypt; Democracy

### Introduction

Beginning in 1952, the founders of the Arab Republic of Egypt planned the Nationalism and *ukhuwwah* movement. In support of this program, Nasir launched programs for the advancement of Islamic politics for the Arab nation with a national and state life based on the common language, politics, culture, and religion. The dynamics of Islamic politics continued in the Anwar Sadat era after Nasser's death in 1970.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Muhammad Nurudin, "Pemikiran Nasionalisme Arab Gamal Abden Nasser Dan Implikasinya Terhadap Persatuan Umat Islam Di Mesir," *Addin* 9, no. 1 (2015): 53, https://doi.org/10.21043/addin.v9i1.607.

Muslims in Egypt are one of the groups that are able to realize ukhuwwah at the practical level of religious, state, and global life. Through his zeal for Political Islam, Sadat launched the Yom Kippur war on Israel which ended in the 1978 Camp David Agreement. The war of positions or cumulative reformulation was at the core of the current Egyptian Islamism movement of the 1980s and had made some notable achievements. It peaked in the late '80s. Egyptian Islamism represents a complex network of organizations, activities, and sympathizers that were widely spread heterogeneously from the main figures of the Muslim Brotherhood whose aim was to Islamize grassroots society.

This broad movement is a new challenge for the Egyptian regime. The commitment of the Muslim Brotherhood to change through da'wah and joint work captured many urban communities and controlled the state. Through mosques, schools, youth associations, women's groups, and all existing lines, it aims to gain public sympathy and end up in parliament and the existing powers.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood experiencing the challenges of *Jamaah Islamiyah*, by the early 1990s, they had actually ruled a small southern town and founded the "Islamic Republic of Imbaba". Thus, in the early 1990s, Egypt was treading the Islamic revolution secretly.<sup>3</sup>

In the 80s the Muslim Brotherhood re-emerged as the largest and most powerful Islamic organization. They relied on social and political activity, mass investment in corporations, and mass organizations. In the end, they found good momentum during the Arab spring and were able to depose Hosni Mubarak in 2011. This was not surprising because this organization had formed its network at the beginning of Mubarak's reign and there were even universities that participate in elections and political parties so that they won 17% of the vote in 1987 as a result of collaboration with the Labor Party with the slogan "Islam as a way out". Since then they had been in opposition to Mubarak's government until the end of his term.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Asef Bayat, *Pos Islamisme* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2011), 253.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Bayat, 254.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Jhon L Esposito, *Ancaman Islam Mitos Atau Realitas?* (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), 147.

The Islamic political upheaval that occurred in Egypt was broadly created because of the non-synchronization of the Egyptian government's relationship with Islamic political organizations and parties, thus making the crisis protracted and causing the recent revolution. Stereotypes and political sentiments have become problems that cannot be resolved since the era of Gamal Abdul Nasser until Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, making Egypt a fragile country. The purpose of writing this article is to review the political dynamics of Egypt's Islam, the conflict between the regime and Islam, and the clash of religion and politics that undermined the existing social system, making Egypt a country that lost its identity.

Those who accept globalization will apply the appropriate concept in a global context, while the resistant groups tend to view it from the point of view that this moment is a setback for Muslims. For the revivalists, they are backward because they use other ideologies as a basis, not returning to the Qur'an as a basic reference. So that they become a lot of government opposition, one of which is the Muslim Brotherhood, this view departs from the assumption that the Qur'an basically has provided complete and perfect instructions as the foundation of a state and society. Besides that, they view other isms as a threat; according to them, globalization and capitalism are one of the Western agendas and non-Islamic concepts that are imposed on Muslims.<sup>5</sup>

The methodology used in this paper is a qualitative methodology based on library research, by collecting data sources from books, articles, and related websites to support valid and accurate data so as to produce credible and comprehensive results. In addition to using qualitative research, this research also uses a political approach. The methodological stages used were started by digging up sources through books in the library, followed by looking for reputable journals to support this research, which was compared with an analysis of Islamic politics. There are reasons for writing this article, namely; 1. To review the dynamics and contestation between religion and politics in Egypt, 2. To read more broadly the pros and cons found in Egyptian society between the Radical

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Atang Abd Hakim and Jaih Mubarok, *Metodologi Studi Islam* (Bandung: PT Remaja Rosdakarya, 2017), 197.

Islamic movement and identity politics, which are the roots of the problems in the country, 3. To review more deeply the relations of Egypt before the Arab Spring and after the Arab Spring in its relations with the international community.

The differences between this article and other articles reviewing Egypt are; 1. The article written by Umma Farida entitled "The Role of the Muslim Brotherhood in Socio-Political Change in Egypt" reviews the position of the Muslim Brotherhood movement that grew and developed in Egypt and traces the genealogy and history of the Muslim Brotherhood, its concepts, and characters. On the onther hand, this article discusses the contestation between politics and religion, and the social situation of Egyptian society across generations from Nasser to Sisi. 2. The article was written by Abu Haif entitled "The History of the Development of Islam in Egypt" reviews the history of Islam globally starting with the arrival of Islam, and its development in the classical era but has not reviewed the dynamics and contestations of contemporary Egypt.

### Result and Discussion

### History of Contemporary Egypt

The history of Egypt in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries resembles that of Turkey although in some respects there are differences from Ottoman rule and from an Islamic society Egypt developed into a secular society. This evolution began with government reform, although in its development this evolution was disrupted by British colonialism from 1882 to 1952.<sup>6</sup>

The British government stopped the consolidation of Egypt's military and administrative elite and formed a second layer of landlords, government officials, merchants, and intelligence calling for national independence. The second layer of the elite ruled until 1952. Because they were unable to face the dilemma of the government, they were eventually overthrown and replaced by a generation of Arab nationalist military that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In 1922 Egypt turned into a semi-independent state under British guidance. With a parliamentary system running Egypt's internal affairs, while foreign policy, military, and Sudanese matters, the law on foreigners are under British authority.

formed the military and socialist regime that has ruled Egypt to this day.<sup>7</sup>

In 1954 Egypt was led by Gamal Abdul Nasser. He was an Egyptian leader who aspired to form a unified Arab state with very high spirits. He voiced the ideals of Arab nationalism. According to him, the similarity of nationalism is based on the unity of language, historical background, and geography. Thus, some countries located between Arabia, Sudan, and Libya are Arabs because their inhabitants speak Arabic. Historically, they are a single unit and geographically the country is in a territorial unit and is easily accessible by means of communication. Nasir's goal at that time was Arabism. The unity that Nasir meant was that all Arabs were in one country, in 1958 the Egyptian-Syrian official alliance was formed but in 1961 it broke up due to Syria's withdrawal.8

In 1967 Egypt waged war on Israel, the event is known as the 6-day war. Egypt's reason for carrying out the war was motivated by the establishment of the state of Israel on Palestinian land, causing a reaction to Arab-Jewish sentiments. Actually, not only did Egypt hate Israel at that time, but Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Kuwait, and Syria were worried that their territory would be depleted due to the expansion of Jewish settlements.

Feeling their territorial sovereignty is getting threatened, Egypt, Jordan, and Syria decide to fight against Israel. The fighting worsened the relations between Arab countries and Israel, so Israel needed to respond to the fighting. The battle started on June 5, 1967, until June 11, 1967. The war was won by Israel. The battle gave the impression to all Palestinian people and especially Arab countries that Israel had the power to fight.<sup>9</sup>

In 1970, Gamal Abdul Nasser died and the position of president was replaced by Anwar Sadat. At the beginning of Anwar Sadat's

 $<sup>^{7}</sup>$  Ira M<br/> Lapidus, Sejarah Sosial Ummat Islam (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999), 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Sugeng Wanto, "Pemikiran Mustafa Kamil Dan Gamal Abdul Nasser Tentang Nasionalisme Islam," *Jurnal Al-Harakah*, no. 3 (December 9, 2019): 9, https://doi.org/10.30821/alharakah.v0i3.5500.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Mohd Irwan Syazli Saidin, Wan Kamal Mujani, and Azyati Azhani Mohd Mazuki, "Perang Enam Hari Arab Israel 1967 Menerusi Perspektif Teori Realisme," *International Journal of Islamic Thought* 9, no. 1 (June 1, 2016): 21, https://doi.org/10.24035/ijit.09.2016.003.

leadership, Egypt was experiencing a financial crisis. Sadat communicated to the Egyptian finance minister Hasan Abbas Zaki and stated that the Egyptian treasury was empty and Egypt has almost declared a bankrupt country. Sadat borrowed from abroad for 20 million euros, but the nominal was still not enough to pump Egypt's economy.

Throughout the years 1971-1972, Egypt was still experiencing a severe economic situation; Sadat took advantage of the situation and opportunity to save his country. The situation was exacerbated by the 1973 Yom Kippur War of Egypt, Libya, and Syria against Israel. The economy began to recover in 1975 after the opening of the Suez Canal.<sup>10</sup>

During the Sadat era, there was also a reform of Egypt's tourism law by issuing an *infitah* policy. Previously Egypt used the regulation of Law 43 of 1974 in carrying out tourism, then the policy was changed in Law 32 of 1977 which marked the liberalization of the private economic sector. The *infitah* policy made Egypt a bigger country by attracting Egypt in the circle of international economic integration, and foreign investment was the end result of the plan to absorb as many Egyptian people as possible. However, the impact of this policy also changed Egypt's political direction from the Soviet Union to the West.<sup>11</sup>

The effects of liberalization were increasingly visible in the mid-1970s when there was an increase in investors to Egypt, both in the private sector operated alone and purely foreign investors, the majority of whom were foreign cooperating with foreign investors and EGOTH, and the source of funding came from foreign and banks. As for several foreign companies that set up their branches in Egypt, one of them was American Express; however, there was Egypt travel which dominated the tourism sector during the 1970-1980s. The investment and operation of the new tourism sector provided a sharp breakthrough for the incentives of the Egyptian government in Sadat's era; it rose sharply in line with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Anwar el-Sadat, *Matthew Gray, "Economic Reform, Privatization and Tourism in Egypt", Journal Middle Eastern Studies* (New York: Harper & Row Publisher, 1978), 214.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Matthew Gray, "Economic Reform, Privatization and Tourism in Egypt," *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, no. 2 (1998): 94.

spending made by tourists both from Arab and European origin.<sup>12</sup>

Although in Sadat's era Egypt's economy improved, Sadat also could not escape public criticism of his peace agreement with Israel after the Yom Kippur War with the signing of the Camp David agreement in 1978. In April 1978 Sadat met with Jimmy Carter to discuss many problems and their shared hopes for the Middle East and discussed a peace agreement with Israel Sadat said diplomatic recognition could only occur after 5 more years the talks lead to the normalization of Egypt and Israel politics. In 1981 Anwar Sadat was shot and killed by soldiers belonging to the Islamic jihad who opposed the Camp David agreement in a military parade.<sup>13</sup>

After Sadat's death, the leadership of Egypt was continued by Hosni Mubarak as vice president. Mubarak was Egypt's longest-serving president after the British and French occupation. The first policy he did after his appointment was to reopen newspapers that had been closed, giving them the right to republish that period was period of Egyptian freedom. This policy was the first policy that was carried out after the Egyptian revolution, but this freedom did not last long because after being closed for a long time the newspaper lost its opposition to the government. In the 20th century in the Mubarak era, Egypt had a high per capita income in the Arab world, the dynamics of Mubarak's leadership.

In addition to the turmoil in the political field, Egypt was also experiencing gender issues. From the 1950s to the 1980s there was an equalization feminist movement that demanded equality between women and men in the country. The Egyptian feminist struggle emphasized psychological and physical aggression, this phenomenon arose because of the patriarchal system that emerged at that time. Examples of growing social problems such as the forced marriage of women to middle-aged men, murder of women for honor, women's submission to taboo things, and many other women's problems that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Gray, 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Jason Brownlee, "Peace Before Freedom: Diplomacy and Repression in Sadat's Egypt" 126, no. 4 (2011): 652.

occur in Egypt.<sup>14</sup>

In the late 1980s and 1990s, Egypt experienced self-sufficiency in food, both rice, and wheat. Exports of wheat and rice were generally aimed at other Middle Eastern countries. It was recorded that Indonesia imported rice from Egypt in the 1980s. In oil production, Egypt has also become an oil exporter. In 1996 Egypt experienced the highest oil exports with a volume of 900,000 barrels per day. The profits were used to subsidize food prices for the Egyptian people, so the people did not compete to increase food production until now. Broadly speaking, Egypt's economic slowdown until now is due to the lazy nature of the people, so the country imports a lot of needs from Asia, Australia, and America. 15

In the 1990s, Hosni Mubarak's regime solidified its political authority and was free from the obstacles of that period. Stability in the state has been achieved for the first time after the Egyptian revolution in 1952; this was compared to the early 80s of Hosni Mubarak's government when there was shakiness in politics, economics, and other crucial issues. In the 80s, Egypt was recorded as one of the countries with the highest debt in the world. Wages were declining, and unemployment was increasing. Even though Egypt in the 90s was well-established in various fields, it could not make the country 100% safe from social shocks in 1993. In fact, there were militant groups in society who were dissatisfied with the status quo they got. By gaining the support of their group, they carried out bombings in Cairo by attacking tourists, Coptic Christians, and government troops. 16

In 1994, according to the London Sunday Times, Mubarak was in great danger of being overthrown by Fundamental Islam. This condition made America and the Egyptian elite themselves in danger because it would threaten the interests of various parties both internal and external

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Yayuk Fauziyah, "Nawa al-Sadawi: Modalitas sebagai Pembentuk Nilai Islam dalam Praktik Diskursus Gender oleh Pemimpin Agama dan Penguasa Mesir," *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 3, no. 1 (September 3, 2008): 40, https://doi.org/10.15642/islamica.2008.3.1.36-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Herdi Sahrasad, "Reformasi Mesir: Berkaca Pada Indonesia?," *Dialog* 34, no. 2 (2011): 68, https://doi.org/10.47655/dialog.v34i2.158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Jon B. Alterman, "Egypt: Stable, but for How Long?," *The Washington Quarterly* 23, no. 4 (2000): 108.

to Egypt itself. Egypt's National Intelligence Agency estimates that if Mubarak falls, Egypt would be hit by an economic crisis, and a prolonged war if this trend of attacks was carried out by Egyptian separatist groups. Mubarak's opposition movement had actually developed in the mid-1990s when independent mosques became the center of the growth of government opposition; especially oil became one of the reasons for the emergence of opposition and the strengthening of Islamic politics in Egypt.<sup>17</sup>

Egypt's economic power gained in the 90s could not be separated from American aid in 1975 when America provided an injection of more than \$15 billion. So that pumping Egypt's economic growth the results appeared in 1982 when Egypt experienced an 8.4% increase in average annual growth compared to 1960-1970 which was only 4.3%. Below is a table of American funding assistance to Egypt between 1975-1990 (\$billion).18

	1975-	1987	1988	1989	1990
	1986				
General		815.0	717.8	930.0	815.0
Support					
Commodity	3.610,50				
Imports					
Cash	811.94				
Transfer					
Project Aid	4.944,76				
PL 480 <sup>c</sup>	2.781,23	189.4	182.1	171.3	160.0
Total	12.148,4	1.004,4	899.9	1.101.3	975.0
	3				
Total	16.129,				
Obligated	03				
(1975-1990)					

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Alterman, 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Denis J. Sullivan, "The Political Economy of Reform in Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22, no. 3 (1990): 317.

In addition, below is a report from USAID on Egypt's GDP figures from 1982-1986.<sup>19</sup>

1982		1983	1984	1985	1986
GDP* Trade	26.400	27.920	30.060	30.550	30.850
Balance Budged	-3.715	-3.828	-8.400	-8.200	-8.100
Balance	-5.078	-3.376	-3.755	-4.830	-5.060

In 1997, Mubarak failed to persuade sympathizers of the Egyptian Islamic movement, leading to demonstrations and the killing of tourists in Luxor. The fact was that the victims who were attacked were not tourists, but those who sent messages to the Mubarak government. It cannot be denied that by 2000 the activities of the Islamist movement in Egypt had increased sharply. The movement did not approve of friendship with the West and a secular government. From the beginning of his leadership until 1991, Hosni Mubarak survived 6 assassination attempts, for the first time in 2005, Hosni Mubarak held elections from a party other than the NDP.

In the previous election, the opposition only showed Mubarak's face without showing their respective candidates on the ballots. Voters were only given two choices, yes or no, in the 2005 elections. The Muslim Brotherhood was still prohibited from nominating its candidate so it was still a passive party.<sup>20</sup>

In the course of the election, there was chaos were on December 7, 2005. Mubarak supporters threw stones at opposition supporters. The Muslim Brotherhood reported that police shot rubber bullets and tear gas at potential Ikhwanul Muslimin voters.<sup>21</sup> Egypt's situation began to change in 2011 with the Arab Spring. Arab Spring was an Arab revolution that swept Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya which resulted in the fall of local governments, then sparked civil uprisings in Yemen, Syria, and Bahrain. Major protests took place in Algeria, Iraq, Oman, Kuwait, Morocco, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Sullivan, 318.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Susan Muadi Darraj, *Modern World Leader Hosni Mubarak* (New York: Chelsea Publisher House, 2007), 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Darraj, 84.

Jordan. Small protests that took place in Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Mauritiana, Sudan, and Western Sahara clashes took place on the Israeli border in 2011. Arabs entered an era of chaos in 2011-2012 which led to the collapse of rulers, and social chaos in several countries.

After days of mass demonstrations in Egypt, following the ousting of Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia, Hosni Mubarak finally resigned. Workers in Egypt were one of the pro-revolution groups that brought down Mubarak. According to the World Bank, 44% of Egyptians live below the poverty line. Education for working families is also poor because the education system is not working well, so everyone hires tutors for their children, leaving them in debt to cover the needs of their families. Meanwhile, food prices continued to increase during 2010-2011, causing them to show solidarity actions in Tahrir Square to voice their demands and join the revolutionary action on January 25, 2011, so that on February 11, 2011, Mubarak stepped down as President of Egypt.<sup>22</sup>

After Mubarak resigned, the leadership in Egypt was held by the military council; on 24 June 2012 the chairman of the Egyptian KPU, Faruq Sultan, announced that Morsi was the winner and the new president of Egypt.<sup>23</sup> After one year of Morsi's administration, there were many policies that were protested by the people. These policies were considered unconstitutional and benefited the Muslim Brotherhood, worsened the Egyptian economy, and did not uphold democratic values.

Morsi's policy injury led to protests that led to demonstrations by the Egyptian people against Morsi. The commander-in-chief of the Egyptian armed forces, General Abdul Fatah al-Sisi, announced Morsi's dismissal as president and appointed Chief Justice of Egypt's Constitutional Court Adli Mansour as interim president until the next presidential election was held.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Herdi Sahrasad, "Arab Spring: Perubahan Rezim Dan Tegangan Hubungan As
Dunia Arab Refleksi Sosio-Historis," *Center of Middle Eastern Studies (CMES): Jurnal Studi Timur Tengah* 6, no. 1 (June 14, 2013): 39, https://doi.org/10.20961/cmes.6.1.11686.

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$  Nur Lailatul Musyafaah, "Penerapan Syari'at Islam Di Mesir," *Al-Daulah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Perundangan Islam* 2, no. 2 (October 1, 2012): 220, https://doi.org/10.15642/ad.2012.2.2.208-236.

In the post-coup developments, there was a conflict between Morsi's supporters and Morsi's opponents. The conflicts that occurred were so diverse, such as physical clashes between the two camps, which resulted in the emergence of casualties and the arrest of Morsi who came from the Muslim Brotherhood. Morsi and several of his loyalties were under house arrest, and the news of the death of 36 Morsi supporters shot by gunmen sparked an international reaction. At the same time, Abdul Fatah al-Sisi suspended the Egyptian constitution, which had been largely inconsistent with the wishes of the Egyptian people.<sup>24</sup>

Sisi officially took office as President of Egypt in 2014, replacing Morsi. Sisi has a military background, so he has a strong influence on the government. Egypt in Sisi's era still did not experience economic and social stability in 2015, the Freedom for brave campaign reported that there were 163 cases of enforced disappearance, In April and May 2017, there were 190 arrests of political activists. The Egyptian Commission for Rights and Freedoms reported that in April 2016 there were 544 cases of enforced disappearance, during the 8-month period between August and in March 2016 there were two to three people missing each day.

In cases of enforced disappearance, the victim was detained from 4 days to 7 months. During the enforced disappearances the detention camps for victims were found at several points, such as; the police station, and Central Security Forces (CSF) camp, while the longest missing victim was detained at the NSA (National Security Agency). Until now, the situation in Egypt is still not stable and conducive in various fields, one of which is influenced by the authoritarian nature of the authorities.<sup>25</sup>

# Egyptian Islamic Political Dynamics

The emergence of modernization from the West led to a reaction from Egyptian clerics. There were scholars who accepted and rejected it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Dodik Setiawan Nur Heriyanto, "Solusi Intervensi Kemanusiaan Sebagai Penyelesaian Konflik Yang Terjadi Pasca Kudeta Presiden Mursi Di Mesir," *Unisia* 35, no. 78 (October 26, 2015): 72, https://doi.org/10.20885/unisia.vol35.iss78.art7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Rizki Ananda and Hermini Susiatiningsih, "Analisis Faktor Kepemimpinan Terhadap Pelanggaran HAM Studi Kasus: Enforced Disappearance Di Mesir Oleh Rezim Abdel Fattah al-Sisi," *Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 1 (December 28, 2018): 930.

Those who oppose modernization in the field of thought that was absorbed from the West considered it a heresy which according to them was forbidden by religion and brings the perpetrators in harm's way. This group was represented by the Muslim Brotherhood, founded by Hasan al-Bana in 1928, the other group is Misr al-Fatat, founded in 1933 by Ahmad Husain.

This group changed to the National Islamic Party in 1940. During the reign of Gamal Abdul Nasser, he received support from the Egyptian people; this was because Nasser was initially close to the ulema and some right-wing groups. In fact, he also benefited from his proximity to the group, among which he was favored by the Egyptian people and the rise of Gamal Abdul Nasser could not be separated from the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>26</sup>

The period of Gamal Abdul Nasser was also known as the golden age of Egypt. He was dubbed the father of Egyptian nationalism. The relationship between Nasser and Islamic political groups began when he carried out a revolution in 1952 to overthrow the Kingdom of Modern Egypt. Nasser's movement was called the Free Officers Movement; one of the staunch supporters of this movement was Sayyid Qutb and the Muslim Brotherhood. According to Qutb, Nasser was a strategic instrument to achieve state power and realize an Islamic solution to all national problems. After Nasser and Qutb overthrew their common enemy, they were mutually hostile due to ideological problems, and political competition between the two.<sup>27</sup>

With his power, Nasser accused Qutb and put him in prison. In Nasser's era, the ideological and political rivalry of Islam appeared from behind the prison. Qutb condemned Nasser, who was seen as modern ignorance which was opposed by the Qur'anic generation. Nasser said that Mu'alim fi al-Tariq written by Qutb was filled with cursing and insults to Muslims who adhered to a different ideology from Qutb. Nasser accused Qutb of grave wrongdoing and sentenced Qutb to death in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Musyafaâh, "Penerapan Syari'at Islam Di Mesir," 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Yudian Wahyudi, *Dinamika Politik Kembali Kepada al-Qur'an dan Sunnah di Mesir, Maroko, dan Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Pesantren Nawesea Press, 2010), 91.

1966.28

Until 1970, many Muslim Brotherhood figures were detained by Nasser. They were released during the Anwar Sadat era. Sadat was seen as weak by Nasser's supporters. In the periodization of his power between 1970-1981 Said Aly divided the two periods of Sadat's leadership; 1970-1978 was a sweet period between Sadat and the Muslim Brotherhood, and the second period 1978-1981 was a period of confrontation. There are two reasons that gave rise to the confrontation, namely; 1. Want to make peace with Israel, and 2. The success of the Iranian revolution.

Good relations between the Muslim Brotherhood and Anwar Sadat have actually been built for a long time. In the 1940s, Sadat attended a class given by Hasan al-Banna at his head office. With the election of Sadat as president of Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood grew closer to building relations with the government. They issued the slogan "The Necessity of Faith and Science" as a form of implementation. Sadat was instructed to broadcast the five daily prayers via radio and television. Sadat also made Islamic shari'ah the basis of the law and released Muslim Brotherhood figures who were still in detention, including Hasan al-Hudaybi. Sadat's political Islam in Egypt was aimed at countering the forces of Marxism.<sup>29</sup>

In implementing his democracy, Sadat gave freedom and flexibility to Islamic militant movements to establish organizations, and the opportunity to establish a party press and multi-party system. Thus members of the Muslim Brotherhood outside Egypt returned to Egypt. In 1975, the Muslim Brotherhood further strengthened its dominance until it ran its organization to al-Azhar. Sadat's success in controlling the Muslim Brotherhood turned out to be the cause of many militants leaving their groups and establishing new radical groups such as *Jund Allah* (Army of Allah), Munnazamat al-Jihad (Organization of Jihad), and *al-Takfiri waal al-Hijra* (Complaints and Displacements). All of these movements were against Sadat so as to make the dynamics of Islamic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Wahyudi, 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Khoiruddin Nasution, "Gerakan Militan Islam Mesir dan Relevansinya dengan Politik Islam Indonesia: Studi Gerakan Ikhwan al-Muslimun," *Unisia* 0, no. 41 (July 27, 2016): 313, https://doi.org/10.20885/unisia.v0i41.5725.

political shock in Sadat's era.30

In mid-January 1977 the al-Takfir waal-Hijra Movement set fire to nightclubs along the streets of Cairo. This movement was led by Ahmad Mustafa, an agricultural engineer who was arrested in 1965 as an activist of the Muslim Brotherhood on July 3, 1977. This movement kidnapped and killed Sheikh Muhammad Hussein al -Dhahabi, former minister of religion and leader of al-Azhar. The reason for the kidnappings and killings was because al-Dhahabi wrote ideas against the movement's ideas. As a result of this murder, as many as 620 members of the al-Takfir Waal al-Hijra movement were arrested, 465 were tried in military courts, 5 people were sentenced to death, and one of them was Ahmad Mustafa. According to government records, the followers of this movement are 3,000-5,000 people consisting of all elements of society scattered throughout Egypt.<sup>31</sup>

In November 1977, Anwar Sadat visited Israel; he was also the first Arab leader to visit Israel. As the result, his actions sparked divisions among Egyptian Muslims. For conservative groups and right-wing Islamic politicians, Sadat had betrayed the country. After signing the Camp David agreement in 1978, the relationship between Sadat and right-wing Islamic politicians worsened, resulting in criticism from Arab countries and the majority of the Egyptian people. Sadat was accused of straddling the Pan-Arabism, ideals of Gamal Abdul Nasser, and destroying Palestine from the evil plots of Zionism. Due to Sadat's actions, the Arab League suspended the status of Egypt and moved its headquarters to Tunis (Tunisia).

Egyptian Islamic Jihad was one of the groups that hated Sadat. They recruited armed militias to make plots. Their actions were known and they were arrested. Not only Egyptian Islamic Jihad but also Coptic Christians were not spared from the government. Not all members of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad secured by the government in the military had also been included in the organization, so on October 6, 1981, Sadat was shot dead by a member of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad named Khalid Islambouli

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Nasution, 314.

<sup>31</sup> Nasution, 315.

who was also the Egyptian military. In fact, Sadat and Islambouli shared the same ideology and religion. However, due to political differences, Islambouli was dark.<sup>32</sup>

Hosni Mubarak was the president of Egypt who comes from the NDP (National Democratic Party). He was more accepting and moderate to the Muslim Brotherhood than Anwar Sadat. He allowed the Muslim Brotherhood to participate in the 1984 and 1987 parliamentary elections. This tolerance was due to Mubarak's previous lack of political views before he became vice president in Sadat's era. Secondly, he was not a Nasser follower who had political sentiments towards the Muslim Brotherhood. After the death of Anwar Sadat, Hosni Mubarak was more careful in acting against anyone including the Muslim Brotherhood.

Therefore, he tried to gain support and sympathy from the community through the majority opposition of the Muslim Brotherhood. In the early 1990s, Mubarak continued to strengthen and expand his influence on the Muslim Brotherhood down to the lower structures in order to prevent the spread of radical Islam in the region.<sup>33</sup>

In 1994, Mubarak held a dialogue with the Muslim Brotherhood to fight collective violence. At the same time, the acceptance of the Muslim Brotherhood was quite large and it was eager to increase political participation in the 1994 elections. In 1995 Mubarak was elected for the third time. During his trip to Ethiopia Mubarak escaped assassination attempts by Muslim activists, so Mubarak took tough steps against Islamists, including the Muslim Brotherhood whose figures were imprisoned by Mubarak.

In addition to the Muslim Brotherhood, Mubarak's government also faced serious challenges from Egyptian Islamic Jihad; Egyptian *jihadists* believed that overthrowing the rulers through violence was an obligation and necessary. Thus this organization rejected all cooperation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Ahmad Muawal Hasan, "Anwar Sadat Damaikan Mesir-Israel, Akibatnya dibunuh Kaum Islamis," URL, Oktober 2019, 1, https://tirto.id/anwar-sadat-damaikan-mesir-israel-akibatnya-dibunuh-kaum-islamis-cxSV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Christina DeGregorio, "Islamism in Politics: Integration and Persecution in Egypt," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 48, no. 2 (December 18, 2010): 353, https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2010.482.343-363.

carried out by the Egyptian government and tried to destabilize the country in various ways. They targeted to kill officials and established the Khilafah Islamiyah. In 1998, Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri, their leader was affiliated with Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda, and in 2001 they officially became part of al-Qaeda.<sup>34</sup>

From 1992 to 2000, the death penalty was carried out 101 times. Mediation efforts at Jama'ah Islamiyah were carried out by Mubarak. What Jama'ah Islamiyah was doing was actually nothing more than a religious and pious conservative. They were also fighting against the government accompanied by acts of violence against civil society. Their targets range from officials, foreign tourists, Coptic Christians, and the destruction of public facilities such as trains, vehicles, hotels, and banks. From 1990 to 1993, there was an increase in victims of their violence to 207 after previously in 1991 the victims were only 139. The total between 1992-1996 the number of victims of Jama'ah Islamiyah approached 1200 people.<sup>35</sup>

In 1999, there was a revival of public opinion against Islamism, in the elections held in 2000, the Muslim Brotherhood advanced independently in contrast to the 1984 and 1987 elections in which they formed a coalition with other parties. As a result, they got 17 seats in Parliament; opposition candidates got 33 seats in the Assembly out of 444 seats, while independent (defense) candidates got 218 seats and 388 seats in parliament.

The 2000 Parliamentary elections were monitored by Sa'ad Eddin Ibrahim a professor at the American University in Cairo (UAC), and director of the Ibn Khaldun Center for Human Rights. As a result of this monitoring, he and 27 of his colleagues were arrested and then tried in a state security court. Sa'ad was found guilty in May 2001 and sentenced to 9 months in prison. In February 2002, he was a retrial and sentenced to 7 years in prison and appealed, in 2003 the cassation court acquitted him.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> DeGregorio, 354–57.

<sup>35</sup> Bayat, Pos Islamisme, 260.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Josep Puig Montada, "Oppositional Movements In Egypt, From 1952 To Mubarak's Downfall," *Nómadas. Revista Crítica de Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas*, 2016, 9.

In 2004, the columnists also became victims of the state apparatus. In his opinion, these columnists created a conflict of opinion that spread to the public. They wrote about corruption and the practice of staying in power. A well-known columnist is Abdel Halim Qandil. He built the masses, and in 2004 he helped found the Kefaya Movement.<sup>37</sup> In November 2004 Qandil was kidnapped and beaten by unknown thugs then he was dumped on the Suez Desert Road. George Ishaq was the first general coordinator of the Kefaya movement, he was also an official speaker, in 2007 Abdel Wahab alMessiry was elected but he died in 2008 and was replaced by Abdel Halim Qandil.

In 2010, Qandil collected his writings which were published in a number of newspapers, and compiled a provocative book entitled "The Substitute President". One of the discussions carried the title Kefaya, and summarized the movement in three slogans; boycott, substitution, and defiance; boycott elections replace Mubarok, civil disobedience, and peace. Kefaya also reached out to Islamic activists, such as Maghdy Ahmed Hussein, the Egyptian President of Islamic Labor, and a member of the People's Assembly from 1987 to 1990. He was arrested many times last 2009 and released in 2011.<sup>38</sup>

Egypt's situation was not conducive until 2011 in its development; al-Azhar was also involved in supporting critical movements, especially from young people against the Mubarak regime. This phenomenon was reinforced by al-Azhar's support for the opposition ahead of the demonstrations on January 25, 2011, with the eruption of the Arab Spring which led to the resignation of Mubarak.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> The Kefaya movement is a movement that seeks to overthrow Hosni Mubarak. Founded to overcome fear, Kefaya was the origin of the opposition movement among workers, doctors, and teachers. Kefaya succeeded in mobilizing elements of Egyptian society, although this organization was diverse but also reflected the old political trends of Egypt; Left and Islamist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Montada, "Oppositional Movements In Egypt, From 1952 To Mubarak's Downfall," 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ahmad Rizky Mardhatillah Umar, "Dari Negara Islam Ke Politik Demokratis: Wacana Dan Artikulasi Gerakan Islam Di Mesir Dan Indonesia From Islamic State To Democratic Politics: Discourses And Articulations Of Islamist Movement In Egypt And Indonesia," *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Budaya* 18, no. 1 (2016): 5, https://doi.org/10.14203/jmb.v18i1.328.

### Egyptian Islamic Politics Post-Arab Spring

The Arab Spring incident originally started in Tunisia, and the success of the Tunisian people in bringing down Zine El Abidine Ben Ali became an inspiration for other countries. One of which was Egypt, the Egyptian people began to take to the streets demanding Mubarak to step down. The people judged that his government was old and must be replaced. The Egyptian people's movement had similarities with Tunisia. This movement was driven by a special figure but really was guided by social media and cell phone services.

In the end, this demonstration succeeded in bringing down Mubarak,<sup>40</sup> After the Arab Spring, there was a change in the political map of Islam in Egypt, namely the strengthening of the support of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Arab Spring was able to attract attention in all fields, not only the economy, which for decades has been heralded but is able to become a practical political symbol in which political games occur, one of which is the Muslim Brotherhood who has contributed so that the Arab Spring is successful.

In the wave of the Arab Spring, the power of the Muslim Brotherhood managed to rise to the top of Egypt's power, with the election of Mohammad Morsi as president in June 2012.<sup>41</sup> Approaching the elections in mid-June 2012, it was apparent that the idea of moderate Islamism had become a common consensus among Ikhwanul activists. Officially the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) in alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood promoted Morsi, the party chairman as a presidential candidate. Morsi advanced by proposing a vision called Nahdah (resurrection) which was specifically described in the development of Egypt.

The Muslim Brotherhood had the opportunity to articulate a new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Ahmad Sahide et al., "The Arab Spring: Membaca Kronologi dan Faktor Penyebabnya," *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional* 4, no. 2 (2016): 123, https://doi.org/10.18196/hi.2015.0072.118-129.

 $<sup>^{41}</sup>$ Rijal Mamdud, "Genealogi Gerakan Ikhwan Al Muslimin dan Al Qaeda di Timur Tengah," Jurnal ICMES 2, no. 1 (June 29, 2018): 57, https://doi.org/10.35748/jurnalicmes.v2i1.15.

discourse on Islam in political discourse in 2012. They won the Legislative Election and the Egyptian Presidential Election. The FJP allied with the Muslim Brotherhood won 235 seats in parliament. The victory marks a new discourse in Egypt's new government.

Interestingly, these programs were not designed directly to Islamize the country. The programs they carry were more technocratic and developmental. The battle for identity politics was getting more massive when Morsi and his coalition submitted a draft constitution-making. The constitution became polemic due to the emergence of several articles containing Islamic substances. From non-Ikhwan circles such as Salafi, and Jamaah Islamiyah, did not fight for the existence of sharia as law even though it was bloodshed. Other objections came from liberal circles for them to make a constitution related to the struggle for identity because they risk their identity in the social spheres in Egypt.<sup>42</sup>

The constitution that Morsi and his coalition promulgated was promulgated in early 2013. Before a debate that divided Egypt into two major Islamist political powers, and the National Salvation Front. Islamist hegemony succeeded in restraining liberal groups and their opponents from the political process until the draft was promulgated, thereby provoking mass anti-Islamist demonstrations. After holding various demonstrations, the opposition consolidated forces from inside and outside the parliament, including the military and demanded Morsi stepped down as president. As well as demanding government institutions against the people, the failure of Morsi's government provoked a military coup that led to Morsi's downfall.<sup>43</sup>

The 2013 coup resulted in numerous human rights violations, with 18 journalists detained and dozens of others released on conditional bail. The arrest of 22,000 activists and 3,000 members of the Muslim Brotherhood happened. An interesting thing was that the international community condemned Egypt but the Gulf countries supported these human rights violations such as Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah congratulating Adli Mansur on the inauguration of Egypt's president and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Umar, "Dari Negara Islam Ke Politik Demokratis," 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Umar, 7.

pledging aid for Egypt of 5 million USD.<sup>44</sup> The countries of Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates also expressed their political support for the human rights that occurred in Egypt through their foreign ministers who were ready to help to restore Egypt. Only Qatar from the Gulf state condemned Egypt through its foreign minister and called on Egyptian authorities to exercise restraint. The United Arab Emirates also provided funds in the 2013 coup to get Morsi down, raising the issue of foreign intervention in the Egyptian government under Morsi.

After the fall of Morsi, Bahrain stated that the military steps taken by Egypt were appropriate in order to restore domestic stability. <sup>45</sup>In 2014 Abdel Fattah al-Sisi officially replaced the previous president, namely Muhammad Morsi. The transfer of power made Egypt far from democracy; the main priority in his era of leadership was tackling terrorism, increasing regional security, and relying on Israel as a strategic partner. Egyptian Sisi further stepped up diplomatic ties with Israel in 2016, for the first time in a decade Egyptian foreign minister Sameh Shoukry paid a visit to Prime Minister Netanyahu's house to watch the final match of the European football championship together. Israel hoped that Egypt could improve bilateral relations between the two countries. Israel also hoped that Sisi would visit Israel or Netanyahu's state invitation to Cairo. <sup>46</sup>

Since his victory in 2014, Sisi has sought to increase resistance to takfiri Islam in Egypt. Sisi is coordinating with Israel to blockade and fight Takfiri Islam in North Sinai, the attacks are aimed both on the ground and in the air. Sisi is also interested in the Palestinian and Israeli peace process. Sisi's support for east Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine poses a diplomatic problem for Israel. His insistence on two countries has weakened the position of his supporters seeking to build strength against

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Jadug Trimulyo Ainul Amri and Fendy Eko Wahyudi, "Koalisi Negara Teluk Diam Atas Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia Kepada Ikhwanul Muslimin Pasca Kudeta Militer 2013 Di Mesir," *Journal of International Relations* 4, no. 4 (September 25, 2018): 713.

<sup>45</sup> Amri and Wahyudi, 714.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Muhammad Khoirul Huda, "Analisis Peningkatan Hubungan Mesir – Israel Pada Periode Pertama Masa Pemerintahan Abdel Fattah Al-Sisi Tahun 2014-2018," *Dauliyah Journal of Islamic and International Affairs* 3, no. 2 (July 1, 2018): 290, https://doi.org/10.21111/dauliyah.v3i2.2505.

the Islamists, Nasserits, Leftist, and Nour Salafi parties. All of them refuse to recognize Israel and claim all of Palestine as the only Arab land.<sup>47</sup>

Fundamentally, Cairo believes that Israel's relations are strategically and diplomatically beneficial to the Sisi administration and the country's regional position. The trend indicates greater rapprochement and is likely to continue. However basically, the majority of Egyptians don't like Israel. This is reflected when Netanyahu visited the Nile River valley countries. In general, after the Arab Spring revolution, there was harmonization and increased cooperation between Egypt and Israel, making Egypt more inclined towards Israel and away from Arabs. However, in other positions, Egypt is able to mediate talks between Fattah and Hamas. In the region of Egypt itself, improving relations with Israel provides a barrier to the influence of Iran and the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East.<sup>48</sup>

In addition to establishing close ties with Israel and the Gulf States, Egypt also obtains military development funds of \$1.5 billion per year for Egypt. This is done by America in stemming Russia's influence in the Middle East, including Egypt. Joint military exercises continue to be encouraged so that America has an influence on Egyptian politics; indirectly the impact of America's policy in Egypt is to make Egypt a Republic of Officers. America is also one of the Western countries that supported the overthrow of Morsi, so in the Sisi era between America and Egypt emerged a more intense relationship for the continuation of American influence in the Middle East and the authoritarian system of Egypt.<sup>49</sup>

#### Conclusion

Egypt is a country that has unresolved problems between religion and politics, so it can be said that the country is still in the best status as a country that does not yet have a democratic identity. The unusual shift of power also gives the image that Egypt is a country far from democracy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Huda, 291.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Huda, 299.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Azhari Setiawan and M. Saeri, "Diplomatic Dilemma Dan Standar Ganda Politik Amerika Serikat Terhadap Konflik Sipil-Militer Mesir Tahun 2013," *Jurnal Online Mahasiswa (JOM) Bidang Ilmu Sosial Dan Ilmu Politik* 2, no. 1 (February 12, 2015): 72.

The struggle between Islam and politics appeared from the very beginning of the country where there was a fight between Nasser and Qutb and ended with the hanging of Qutb in 1966. After Nasser's death, a new radical Islamic takfiri movement emerged and culminated with the assassination of Anwar Sadat. The takfiri movement was allegedly a splinter movement of Islamic hardliners who opposed the government over Sadat's policies, especially the Camp David agreement in 1978.

These problems also still arose in the Mubarak era until the assassination of Mubarak in 1991 which failed and gave influenced Mubarak's policies on Islam in the future. The emergence of the Arab sprinkling became a breath of fresh air for radical Islam where dramatization took place. It had a significant impact with the fall of Mubarak and the victory of the Muslim Brotherhood in 2012.

The triumph of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 2012 contest made Egypt new hope in building democracy after being separated from the Hosni Mubarak era which was muscular and not open. However, in practice the democracy carried out by the Muslim Brotherhood only benefited them, resulting in political coups and various interpolations by the Egyptian council, the culmination of the upheaval with the rise of Sisi.

With Sisi's rise to power, Egypt is far from democracy in practice in his era. There have been various cases of democracy, inclusive politics, international relations, and cases of enforced disappearance. In Sisi's era, there is also an increase in bilateral relations between Egypt and Israel. This triggered disharmony between the country both internally and externally, especially from Arab countries that hate Israel. Understanding the political context of Egyptian Islam cannot be separated from the control of the dynamics of the military and Islamic organizations.

History records that almost all presidents who have ever ruled in Egypt were people who were involved in the military world, so psychologically it would affect their leadership style and result in authoritarianism. This factor cannot be denied because of the emergence of violent Islamic movements, demonstrations demanding people's rights, and the decline in the socio-religious dimension stemming from the authoritarian attitude of a ruler.

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